

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4132

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI

S E C R E T ATHENS 4440

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, CR

SUBJECT: FURTHER NOTES ON RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND
CYPRUS AGAINST BACKGROUND OF GREECE/TURKEY
CONFRONTATION

1. MY MESSAGE CAPTIONED "THE ROOTS OF GREEK ATTITUDES
IN CURRENT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY"
(ATHENS-4433) MENTIONED ONLY INCIDENTALLY RELATIONSHIP
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN CYPRUS (INCLUDING PROBLEMS POSED BY
HEIGHTENED CONFRONTATION BETWEEN MAKARIOS AND GREEK REGIME)
WITH GREECE'S DISPUTE WITH TURKEY OVER AEGEAN RIGHTS,
ALTHOUGH I REFERRED TO PROBLEM IN ATHENS 3936.

2. IN REVIEWING PRESENT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN MAKARIOS
AND GREEK REGIME SERIOUS SPILLOVER IMPACT ON GREEK
CONFLICT WITH TURKEY MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.
REGIME IS UNDOUBTEDLY TRYING TO CALCULATE WHERE AND
HOW CYPRUS AND MAKARIOS FIT INTO COMPLEX NETWORK
UNDERLYING GREEK-TURKISH CONFRONTATION. IT MAY BE
ARGUED THAT LOOSENING OF BONDS BETWEEN GREECE AND
CYPRUS AT THIS TIME COULD BE MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS,

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AT LEAST OVER SHORT RUN, ON GROUNDS THAT CYPRUS IS

NOT DEFENSIBLE AGAINST TURKISH MILITARY ATTACK AND THAT GREECE SHOULD CONSEQUENTLY CONCENTRATE ITS MAIN MILITARY STRENGTH IN THE AEGEAN AND ALONG THE GREEK-TURKISH FRONTIER.

3. MAKARIOS MAY BELIEVE HE CAN PREVENT CYPRUS FROM ULTIMATE INVOLVEMENT IN GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEMS AND POSSIBLE OCCUPATION WITH ACCOMPANYING ENTANGLED INTERNATIONAL SCENARIOS LIKELY TO FOLLOW. MOREOVER, SHOULD SITUATION EVOLVE IN THIS WAY, MAKARIOS COULD CONSIDER IT AS OPPORTUNE MOMENT TO MAKE CYPRUS REALLY INDEPENDENT BY ADVANCING TOWARD HIS ADMITTED GOAL OF ELIMINATION OF INTERVENTION RIGHTS AND FOREIGN TROOPS PER LONDON/ZURICH TREATIES. MAKARIOS, CALCULATION THAT GREEK REGIME PREOCCUPATION WITH TURKEY WILL INDUCE IT TO ACQUIESCE IN HIS NATIONAL GUARD DEMANDS APPEARS TO EXPLAIN IN PART HIS PRESSING IOANNIDES BY RELEASE OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT GHIZIKIS AND THUS CLOSING VIRTUALLY ALL DOORS TO COMPROMISE.

4. ON OTHER HAND IOANNIDES MAY BE WEIGHING ADVANTAGES OF POLICY OF MODERATION FOR PRESENT WHILE PLAYING FOR TIME. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT NO TIMETABLE FOR REMOVAL OF NATIONAL GUARD MAINLAND OFFICERS HAS BEEN SET. WHILE BUYING TIME IOANNIDES COULD LAUNCH ANTI-MAKARIOS PRESS CAMPAIGN PORTRAYING MAKARIOS AS DESTROYING GREATER HELLENISM AND AT SAME TIME TAKE STEPS TO INCREASE EOKA-B HARASSMENT. REGIME WOULD PRESUMABLE BE ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO COMPROMISE IF, AS DENKTASH ASPECULATED TO AMBASSADOR DAVIES, MAKARIOS' MOVE AGAINST NATIONAL GUARD WAS CONSIDERED AS THREAT TO REGIME'S HOLD ON POWER. SO FAR AS POSSIBILITY OF TOTAL RENUNCIATION OF GREEK RESPONSIBILITY FOR ISLAND'S WELL-BEING, GREEK ARMY AND REGIME, GIVEN SENSE OF PARTIOTISM AND DEVOTION TO HELLENISM PLUS PERSONAL MILITARY SERVICE IN CYPRUS OF MANY GREEK OFFICERS, SEEM UNLIKELY TO ACQUIESCE IN CHOICE THAT WOULD CLOSE DOOR INDEFINATELY TO ANY PROSPECT OF ENOSIS.

5. FACED WITH SERIOUS POLICY OPTIONS IN WHICH REACTION
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OF GREEK PUBLIC AND MILITARY IS AT BEST UNPREDICTABLE, GOG HAS TO ACCEPT FACT THAT NO MATTER HOW IT IS PLAYED, REGIME WOULD BE BOUND TO LOSE FACE WITH WEAKENING OF POSITION OF GREECE ON ISLAND THROUGH REMOVAL OF GREEK OFFICERS OF NATIONAL GUARD. MOREOVER, CONTINUING GOG OBSESSIVE PREOCCUPATION WITH COMMUNISM IN CYPRUS, AS REPRESENTED BY GREEK BELIEF THAT MAKARIOS MAKING LIFE PROFITABLE FOR

COMMUNISTS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES, NEEDS TO BE KEPT IN FOREFRONT. REDUCTION OF TIES WITH HELLENIC MOTHERLAND WOULD LESSEN SUBSTANTIALLY MAINLAND GREEK INFLUENCE ON TREATMENT OF LEFTIST AND COMMUNIST ELEMENTS IN CYPRUS.

6. RESIGNATIONS OF FOREIGN MINISTRY'S THREE TOP RANKING OFFICERS, TETENES, VLACHOS AND TSOUNIS, ATTRIBUTED TO RESENTMENT OVER MILITARY'S MAKING DECISIONS ON POLICY WITH CYPRUS AND REVERSING FOREIGN MINISTRY'S REPORTED POSITION THAT SOLUTION TO AEGEAN CONFLICT SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED WITH TURKEY WERE SETBACK FOR REGIME. CHARGES OF FORMER POLITICAL LEADERS, EX-PM KANELLOPOULOS, MAVROS, KOTHRIS AND OTHERS, THAT GOG MISMANAGING MAJOR NATIONAL QUESTIONS WHILE KEEPING GREEK PUBLIC IN DARK REFLECTS CONCERN OF MANY INFORMED GREEKS OF WHICH REGIME LEADERS MUST BE AWARE.

7. MY FEELING NOW IS THAT IOANNIDES MAY BE STALLING FOR TIME AS HE SORTS OUT PROBLEMS OF MINISTERIAL POSITIONS WITHIN CABINET, SUCH AS FINDING APPROPRIATE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND WEIGHS BALANCE OF FACTORS IN AEGEAN CONFLICT WITH TURKEY. GREEK REGIME ALSO MAY BE HOPING THAT PUBLIC REACTION IN CYPRUS TO LATEST MANEUVERS OF MAKARIOS WOULD NOT REFLECT FULL SUPPORT FOR HIM.

8. WOULD WELCOME ANKARA AND NICOSIA COMMENTS.
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